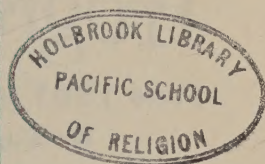


A JOURNAL OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY

Social Progress



Anatomy of Delinquency

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BY WAY

OF

INTRODUCTION



GROWING up in any society has never been easy. Some youngsters will say that it is harder than ever today. Although drivers' licenses have replaced ancient puberty rites in our part of the world, youth continues to rebel. Age still admonishes.

This issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS comments on some contemporary problems that complicate life for many young people and contribute to what has been called "juvenile delinquency." Tom Arthur's drawings symbolize the authority figures involved in altercations between generations. Their resemblance to the strange, ancient Easter Island monuments suggests the age-old traumas and tensions of growing up into an adult world.

About a million American young people each year do get into trouble with the law—not a large figure in a population of 180 million, and one that is subject to many misinterpretations. News media luridly report appalling acts of crime and violence of a few young people and really obscure the truth, for the vast majority of boys and girls are working hard at their studies and out-of-school interests, and are thoughtful, law-abiding members of society. But behind statistics are the tragedy and cost of deviant behavior, and the great dilemma of preventing and controlling it. Studies on the church and juvenile delinquency by our youth staff and by the National Council of Churches point up the gaps in our knowledge and understanding of delinquency and the great complexity of contributing factors. But the churches have also been among these factors, mostly by what they have failed to do. A renowned criminologist recently told the editors that "the churches have done nothing here except to keep young offenders out."

The churches' concern for young people in trouble should be considerably broadened by the attention that national agencies are giving to it. The United Presbyterian Women will launch a three-year emphasis on juvenile delinquency at their 1961 national meeting. A national committee of women will guide and stimulate this study, action, and research in their communities, and find resources to help young people. An interboard co-ordinating committee has been meeting for several months to direct the church's resources to the women's emphasis, and to a co-ordinated approach to deviant behavior in society. This issue of *SOCIAL PROGRESS* and other preparatory materials may be ordered from Presbyterian Distribution Service. The advice and counsel of the Office of Church and Society will be available to judiciaries and presbyterial leaders.

The United Presbyterian Church is also co-ordinating its resources in work with the National Council of Churches and its research program described on page 45. We are strongly persuaded that only broad, interagency approaches and full co-operation on the part of Government and private groups can make a dent in the problem.

Many resources have been used in preparing this magazine. Because of space limitations we have omitted important conditioning factors which we hope our readers will not neglect. Volumes could have been written about the relationship of racial and economic discrimination to delinquency, the effects of neighborhood blight on family life, the disorganizing influence of slum clearance and population change, the dilemmas and shortcomings of the public schools, and the lack of jobs and meaningful work for teen-agers. A reading list on pages 46 and 47 aims to correct these omissions, and suggests materials for further well-rounded study. We especially recommend the reports of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth, and the many follow-up recommendations from committees in the fifty states. We also commend the excellent pamphlet series developed by the Children's Bureau.

The problems of deviant behavior must be seen from a world viewpoint. Other countries, particularly in Europe and parts of Asia, are baffled and disturbed. The United Nations Economic and Social Council has conducted regional studies of delinquency, and sponsored an international conference in London during the summer of 1960.

Against the world picture, Paul Goodman, in *Commentary*, writes: "Our society has evolved a social plan, a city plan, an economy and physical plant, in which this delinquent youth is an organic part. The problem is *not* to get them to belong to society, for they belong a priori by being the next generation. The burden of proof and performance is quite the other way: for the system of society to accommodate itself to all its constituent members."

—The Staff

ANATOMY OF DELINQUENCY

A Perspective

THE term "juvenile delinquency" has been widely misused. Technically, a juvenile delinquent is one who has violated a law. Acts considered to be delinquent range from trivial to serious. They vary from state to state. Obviously, in these terms there are deviant acts which cannot be categorized as delinquent.

To illustrate, it can be said that "systems of rules regulate the interaction of participants in social enterprises which represent investments of varying importance to the dominant power groups in the society. No great harm is done to the basic interests of these groups by manifestations of 'bad manners,' such as using profanity in public, refusing to welcome a guest (unless, perhaps, he is the titular head of a rival nation), or carrying on a noisy conversation during a musical performance. For the social control of such deviant conduct, various types of informal sanction, such as ridicule, criticism, or scorn, are customarily invoked. It is a different matter, however, if an act interferes with the achievement of the general welfare as defined by the controlling interest groups in a society. . . .

"The law confers broad discretion upon officials to define many types of youthful activity as delinquent. In fact, statutory definitions of de-

linquency are ordinarily so broad that all children at one time or another are likely to engage in behavior that could be defined as delinquent." (*Delinquency and Opportunity*, by Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin. The Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois, 1960.)

It is apparent that it is manifestly unjust to place all offenders in a single classification without regard for the seriousness of the offense or for the reason for their behavior.

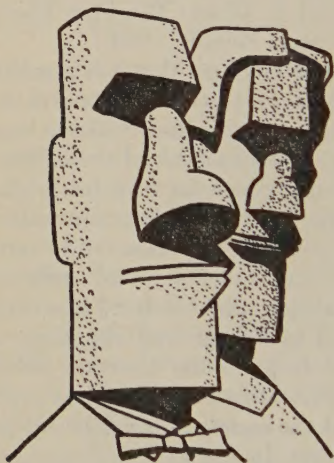
Generally speaking, a juvenile delinquent is a person with certain physical, mental, and emotional qualities; who has lived in a certain kind of background situation; and who in particular instances behaves in a way that brings him into conflict with the society of which he is a part. Society judges as a delinquent one who violates any law of the state or municipal ordinance, or whose conduct is so seriously antisocial as to interfere with the rights of others or to menace the welfare of the delinquent himself or of the community.

The uninitiated should be aware of the fact that the problem of juvenile delinquency has suffered many solution hazards because of exaggerated claims and inordinate emphasis upon particular theories of control and prevention. It should be noted that there is fundamental disagreement

among "experts" on the relative influencing of delinquent behavior such as between one's environment and one's physical, mental, and emotional qualities. One must be rationally discriminating and supremely wise in his quest to understand the basic aspects and fundamental factors involved in bringing about desirable changes in the present situation.

How the Problem Is Measured

Nearly all statistical data on juvenile delinquency are derived from



the records and reports of the various agencies engaged in the administration of criminal law, i.e., police agencies, courts, treatment and correctional institutions.

Police statistics present the number of offenses reported, the number of persons arrested, and the offenses cleared by arrest. As the police agencies are largely local, a problem is involved in collecting statistical data from the large number of such agencies. The Federal Bureau of Investi-

gation obtains reports from police agencies and publishes summaries for the country as a whole in its annual Uniform Crime Reports. However, in publishing the data submitted by chiefs of police in different cities, the Federal Bureau of Investigation does not vouch for their accuracy. They are issued as information that may throw some light on problems of crime and criminal law enforcement.

Pertinent court statistics represent the volume of children's cases disposed of by juvenile courts. Data on the number of cases are based on reports from a National Sample of Juvenile Courts, compiled by the Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. These statistics are affected by many factors, including ages of children, type of cases, variations in the organization and scope of the services of other agencies, community and parental attitudes. Because of these and other limitations juvenile court statistics, when taken by themselves, cannot measure the full extent of delinquency. They may be particularly misleading when used to make comparisons between one community and another. They do, however, indicate how frequently one important community resource, the juvenile court, is utilized for dealing with such cases.

How Many Delinquents Are There?

It depends upon who counts them and how many are known to those doing the counting. As measured by the number of delinquency cases handled by juvenile courts, juvenile delinquency increased in 1959 for the eleventh consecutive year. In that

year, the Children's Bureau estimates that 483,000 delinquency cases (excluding traffic violations) were handled by the courts—an increase of 2 per cent over 1958. In that year, also, the juvenile courts handled an additional 290,000 traffic violations involving juveniles.

Police arrest data, reported by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, confirm the rise in juvenile delinquency. In 1959, police arrests of persons under eighteen years of age increased by 4 per cent over 1958. Again in 1959, arrests of youths were disproportionately high in certain categories. On an over-all basis, they represented 12 per cent of the arrests, but for auto theft, 64 per cent. This was followed by 52 per cent for burglary, 49 per cent for larceny, 30 per cent for possession of stolen property, and 26 per cent for robbery.

Other data gathered by the Children's Bureau reveal that of children living in public training schools for delinquent children on June 30, 1958, one fourth had been there previously. The approximately 36,000 children in such institutions amount to a rate of about 150 per 100,000 child population. It is estimated that juvenile courts commit to training schools roughly one in every ten chil-

dren who come before them. The courts use such methods as probation and counseling with the majority of children they see.

These statistics represent only those cases officially known to courts and law enforcement agencies and do not include large numbers of technically delinquent acts that have remained undiscovered or uncounted.

Significant Trends

- Contrary to trends in previous years, the increase in delinquency cases in 1959 (2 per cent) did not exceed the rise in the child population, which went up by 5 per cent among children of juvenile court age (10-17).

- There was a 2 per cent decrease in the number of juveniles handled in urban areas, while courts serving semiurban and rural areas experienced increases of 7 and 15 per cent respectively. This may indicate that in this age of rapid transportation and mass communication, factors of physical space and population density may be less important than the nature and tempo of social life.

- Acts of violence against persons, as compared with acts against property, such as theft, are showing the most rapid increase all over the country.

Delinquents: Who Are They?

By David C. Twain, from *Supplement to Reference Papers on Children and Youth*, prepared for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth. Used by permission.

“Juvenile delinquency” is a complex phenomenon. To highlight the many circumstances under which delinquency may occur, we have chosen two boys who come from different areas of the United States and who differ in racial and economic backgrounds. Family composition and other important variables are considered in the attempt to account for their delinquent behavior.

HENRY FORRESTER—POWER BEHIND THE WHEEL

Henry's Offense

At the age of sixteen, Henry Forrester, a white boy living in a small Midwestern town, stole an automobile. Because he had crossed state lines, he was charged with violation of the Federal Juvenile Delinquency Act. At the time of the offense he was living away from home and was supporting himself by working as an automobile mechanic.

An interview with a U.S. Probation Officer brought out the following facts. Henry's own car, which he valued highly, had broken down, and he had no funds to repair it. Wanting a car to use over the Labor Day weekend, Henry chose one which he had just repaired at the shop and which had no license plates. He drove it to a friend's house and told him that his boss had given him the use of the car for the weekend. Henry and his friend transferred the license plates from the friend's car to the automobile they had stolen and started off on their jaunt.

Henry's History

Until he was seven, Henry lived in various suburban areas of the Midwest with his natural parents and an older brother and sister. His father seldom worked, and his mother had to go to work to support the entire family. Henry was often left with neighbors while his mother was working. When Henry was seven, his parents separated. The mother placed Henry and his sister in a foster home.

When Henry was about nine, his mother remarried and took the two children back to live with her and their new stepfather. At the age of eleven, Henry and his brother and two other boys broke into a trucking company. Henry was placed on probation for six months. During this period he cut school and was generally intractable. Because of his behavior problems, the mother changed residences from one small town to another, in a vain hope that a new environment would benefit Henry.

When Henry was thirteen, he ran

away from home and was again placed under the special supervision of the Family Court. At this time he complained of an unreasonable conflict between himself and his stepfather. Two months later, Henry was accused of forging three checks. Restitution was made, and Henry was again placed under court supervision.

Several months later he again ran away from home and was charged with being a runaway and a truant. He repeated his complaints about his stepfather.

When he was fourteen, his mother could no longer endure the struggle of trying to keep him in school and out of trouble and agreed to let him live with his father in another town. Three months after moving in with his father, Henry was accused of petty larceny and was turned over to the Family Court, with no official record being made of the offense. Three months later he ran away, this time taking the family car, and was again placed under special supervision.

Because of his recurrent misdeeds, the court requested psychiatric and psychological examination. Henry was found to be above average in intelligence and possessing high mechanical aptitude. He appeared to have a fairly realistic view of things and a considerable degree of practical judgment. This time he complained about his stepmother, who he felt was jealous because of the friendly relationship that was developing between his father and himself.

About six months later he stole forty dollars from home and tried to run away in his father's car, but he

was picked up for driving without a permit. He was then placed in the Juvenile Detention Home but ran away. He was apprehended an hour later and ordered to be committed to the Boys' Training School of that state. There he lived for about a year. While on parole from that institution he again ran away from home, got a job as an auto mechanic for thirty dollars a week, and bought a used car on time.

What Kind of Boy Is Henry?

His mother described him as a lone wolf, a boy who never made friends easily, who never seemed to have more than one friend at a time, and who was never close to any member of the family.

He got as far as the last half of the eighth grade but was always regarded as a truancy problem and had to repeat two grades. His last job was the only one at which he stayed longer than a few weeks.

Psychiatric examination revealed that Henry had a low opinion of himself, was insecure, irritable, and easily disorganized under stress. He was also quite pessimistic about his future.

Henry's Point of View

Henry complains bitterly about not being loved by his stepmother and stepfather and seems to have given up all hope of any rewarding contact with them.

When considering his needs, he begins to talk about automobiles. He tells you how important it is to own an automobile, to take good care of it, to keep it running smoothly. He tells you how rosy things were when he finally had his own car, and how,

when this prized possession broke down and he had no money to repair it, the bottom dropped out of everything. Self-confidence could no longer be maintained and he was "through." In desperation he stole a car. He did not race it or sell it. He worked on it, lovingly. He made it the way he wanted it to be. Once again things looked brighter, but then he was caught with this stolen automobile and adjudicated as a delinquent.

This boy does not talk about hostility toward the world. He talks about the need for love and his strange method of finding it in an automobile. He talks about a need

for self-esteem and the twisted and warped way he must seek for it behind the wheel of a beautiful and powerful car. Henry talks about being shoved around by the world, about never finding a home where he was really wanted, and how he found his escape in the complete mastery of a mechanical marvel which he called his own.

Henry Forrester is an individual who is all alone with his ideals. Things must be perfect or else there is no good in them. If he does not have complete freedom, he is completely hemmed in. If he is not trusted completely, he feels there is no trust at all placed in him.

WOODROW WRIGHT—ALONE AND PERPLEXED IN THE JUNGLE

Woodrow Wright is sixteen years old, sturdily built and healthy. He is a Negro, born in the South, who



has lived much of life in a poor urban area on the East Coast. He is single but has a girl friend who has borne him two children.

The Offense

In the spring of 1959, Woodrow and two others assaulted a fourth boy. The complainant told the Grand Jury that one morning, while on his way to his parked car, he was approached by one of three youths who ordered him to stop. The complainant continued on his way but was tripped up and attacked by the trio. One of the assailants hit him on the head with something. He kicked one of them and started to run away but was overtaken by all three. Woodrow pulled out a knife and ordered the complainant to give him all his money. The other two kept beating the complainant and trying to tear off his wrist watch. Finally, as he broke away and started running, he heard someone yell, "Kill him!"

Although nothing had been taken from him, his lower left arm and wrist had been badly cut. He had

also received bruises and lacerations on his arms, elbows, knees, head, and face.

When Woodrow was interviewed by the Probation Officer, he said that he had gone with two friends to get some medicine for himself and that he had intended to spend the night with his girl friend. As they were walking up the street, one friend pointed out the complainant as a person who had earlier beaten him up, and it was agreed that they should "get" him.

Woodrow Wright has been committed to a training school for six years under the Youth Corrections Act for Assault with Intent to Rob.

His Life Story

Woodrow is an only child. In some places the records say that his father died before his birth. Other records show that his father died during World War II. He and his mother were separated for prolonged periods. Her attitude toward him oscillated between overprotectiveness and rejection.

A Probation Officer said of Woodrow:

This is a rather passive youngster who seems to be getting into difficulty in very important areas of living because of what seems to be his inability to adjust to authoritative figures. The mother is a complaining person who has undergone eight major operations during the past two years and expresses the feeling that this surgery was necessary due to some damage which she suffered following the boy's birth.

In 1956, when Woodrow was thirteen, he was referred to the Child Welfare Division by the Juvenile

Bureau, Metropolitan Police Department, with the notation that "juvenile had been living with an unrelated caretaker and was reported to be habitually truant from school and home." He was placed in an institution for dependent children from which he ran away three times.

By the time Woodrow returned home from the training school at the age of fourteen, his mother had entered into a relationship with a man who lived with her but who exercised no authority over Woodrow. His mother was unable to control him or to change his ways. He began staying out late every night, and when he was about fifteen he became involved with the girl who later bore him two children. His mother apparently encouraged this relationship in the hope that it would help him settle down and keep out of trouble.

What Kind of Boy Is Woodrow?

A U.S. Probation Officer says:

This is a sixteen-year-old defendant on whom the Juvenile Court has waived jurisdiction; this boy has been largely raised by his mother, who has admittedly not been able to maintain much control over him. Due to his age, he has had little employment and has no occupational skills. This boy is a personable-appearing boy who reflects some degree of home training in his manner, but who seemingly is in need of discipline and training in order to protect the community from further unreasoned and unprovoked incidents as well as to provide him with the means by which to make a satisfactory adjustment.

Woodrow feels that he has been badly treated and has become more

overtly hostile. He is fearful and guilty. He is aware of his lack of self-control and believes in severe punishment for transgression. Under pressure, he reacts with confusion and excitement but stays within the boundaries of reality. At present he feels very sorry for himself and hopes things will somehow straighten themselves out.

What does Woodrow think about? What does he feel? He becomes very agitated as he tells you that it's all a big mistake, that somehow or other this world isn't quite right. He blurts out that the world has in it certain people—the "Mr. Charlies"—who run things, take advantage of the poor, don't give them a break. They are rich and never let the underdog get off the floor. More agitated, he complains bitterly that people call him names, that every time he tries to go "straight" people put him at a disadvantage. "It doesn't do any good to go straight, because then people make a fool of you."

He talks of his environment. He speaks of the jungle in which he lives and of his incredulity at his present incarceration. He has been beaten up before, he complains. The boy he attacked had beaten up a friend of his. Why couldn't the whole thing

just be forgotten? What is all the ruckus about?

Who are his friends? Woodrow claims the only friend he has ever had is his mother. According to him, she has always stood by him. He recalls vividly the times she beat him. Once she even hit him with a lead pipe. Nevertheless, she is important to him. Woodrow shouts loudly, at times at the top of his voice, that he lives for himself, that he needs no one else, that he must follow what he feels within.

Woodrow Wright is an adjudicated juvenile delinquent. Legally, he is guilty of law violation; society finds him guilty of norm violation. He refuses school; he refuses work; he refuses the marriage contract. He is an alienated boy; there is little evidence of any relationship where he would have had a mature figure to emulate in order to take the first basic steps toward building a life for himself. His chaotic attempts to form some sort of mature identity for himself are not satisfying to society or himself; yet they are accepted by those closest to him. All indications point to the fact that he is not "hard" but rather confused, and hence a dangerous adolescent who is terribly depressed because he does not know where he is or where he is going.

SUMMARY

The term "juvenile delinquency" refers to behavior which offends society, which flaunts value systems, and which may become law violation. Statistics reveal that, within varying incidence, this behavior can occur in individuals of any race, religion, economic background, or eth-

nic group. It occurs in families that are intact and in "broken" homes. An individual may commit a delinquent act while alone, in the company of a friend, or while a member of a group or gang. The delinquent act may be one of omission, such as truancy, or one of commission; the

act of commission may be directed toward people or toward property. These are some of the variables relevant to the phenomenon of "juvenile delinquency."

This paper has been concerned with two adjudicated juvenile delinquents, characteristic of youth in trouble. In attempting to understand their delinquent behavior, we need to note certain pertinent, basic points.

These boys are adolescents. In part, at least, their offensive behavior is associated with an intensification of their awareness of themselves during this period of their development. These boys are greatly concerned with the problem of establishing themselves as men. Their delinquent acts have a basis in anger. In the face of conflict, the delinquent is aggressive rather than withdrawing.

These boys feel that they have not received enough from the world, that their present needs are not being recognized. Woodrow feels that the "Mr. Charlies" have always looked down on him and have tried to keep him from gaining his rightful share of the good things of the world. Henry feels that much of the world is imperfect, that he is not trusted, that he has always been controlled and dominated and, in general, rejected by the important people in his life. Regardless of the surface impressions these boys may convey, underneath one finds dissatisfaction and unhappiness. There is more than the usual momentary sadness and confusion of the adolescent. The confusion and sadness in these boys have deeper roots.

What seems to vary in these cases

is not so much the motivating force behind the delinquent act but the particular outlet and manner of its appearance. Henry concentrates a good deal of his need for status in the stolen automobile, which also gives him an outlet for his affection. His theft of money, automobiles, and other material goods, which seems to make him feel better, appears different from the vicious attack which has been attributed to Woodrow.

In most instances, we find these boys expressing needs common to all of us. They have not, however, been able to develop socially approved means of attaining their goals. In other instances, the goals are not those which society values, and the individuals appear to be bent on destruction.

The World Should Be Different

The boys discussed in this paper . . . are extremely idealistic in that they want the world to be different from what it is, to measure up to their expectations. Woodrow wants a world without the Mr. Charlies. Henry wants a world in which people can trust one another. Seeing everything as either black or white, these boys find their ideals unfulfilled, and in their frustration fall into despair. They retreat from contact with others and live within themselves, according to their own codes. They have a great need to maintain their individuality. In doing so they cut themselves off from real communication with others. They are hard to reach. What they need most is guidance in accepting an imperfect world and in finding their place in it.

A Many-sided Problem

Causal Factors in Juvenile Delinquency

Many interlocking, complex factors lie at the root of deviant behavior in young people. Many are part of a network of social and economic problems as difficult to handle as is delinquency. Moreover, we have lacked the continuing concern and resources to discover what we should know about basic causes. Americans who are used to getting their views of the world from five-minute newscasts are conditioned to look for simple solutions to the most complex problems. Although statistics and studies at the present time are inadequate, what we do know about the young people who have come into the courts is serious and disturbing.

Some causal or (as some experts prefer) related factors are primarily psychological and personal, involving the dynamics of personality development and needs, the lack of supporting relationships within the family and the school. Other predisposing factors are moral, social, and environmental, ranging from the broad, cultural demands of an affluent urban society that is highly competitive and complex to social disorganization and discrimination, rootlessness and lack of community.

Some social scientists face the

question about the difficulties that may lie deep in family situations, and the studies of Sheldon and Eleanor Gluek appear to indicate that defects within the family may be responsible, at least in part, for the delinquent activities of some children. Paul Tappan, the noted criminologist at New York University, has stated in his *Comparative Survey of Juvenile Delinquency* prepared for the United Nations: "The problems of law violation lie deep in the conflicts, complexity, and competitiveness of American culture, the materialism and superficiality of family values, the deterioration in traditional standards and values. All of these spell the loss of the personal integrity and loyalties upon which stable relationships are predicated. The problem of delinquency then appears to arise when the development of mass urban society and its overpowering impact upon those whose personal deficiencies, family experience, and group associations render them peculiarly pregnable to moral and social deterioration. While police, juvenile courts, social agency services, foster homes, and institutions have come to focus attention on the individual, they appear not to have overcome in any significant measure the disorganizing influences of the community and the culture.

... It is even more certain that in the United States delinquency and crime thrive in communities and in families where the standards of living and the social services are relatively high as compared to conditions in other countries."

"Much research on juvenile delinquency suggests related social factors and seems to indicate that rates of delinquency are highest in the deteriorated areas of our larger cities. These are the areas in which the most recent of economically deprived migrants to the city settle (and from which they hope to escape). Also resident in such areas are those who have drifted there because of failure to compete successfully for more desirable living space (whether because of lack of skills, disease, or other disability) and persons who have located in them because of a desire for freedom from conventional restraints. These neighborhoods are characterized not only by physical deterioration, but by very great heterogeneity of background and moral standards, by lack of neighborhood solidarity, by lack of opportunities for youth to participate meaningfully in the kinds of activities that are available to children in more favored neighborhoods, and by the presence of 'successful' members of the underworld, who are regarded as heroes to be emulated. These circumstances of life are often associated with unstable families, and a high incidence of illegitimacy and desertion, leading both to maternal employment with inadequate provision for the needs of children and to the lack of a father-figure to provide guidance and affection to the young child.

"Families living in urban slum areas, by and large, love their children and have concern for them just as do parents elsewhere. A majority of the children learn moral values from their parents. But they are faced by much evidence that they are disadvantaged in comparison with the larger society." (*Report to the Congress on Juvenile Delinquency*, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1960.)

The Gang Setting

Robert MacIver, emeritus professor of sociology of Columbia University and now director of the Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project of New York City, has probed the organization and setting of "conflict gangs." He identifies discrimination and high mobility as basic factors. "Although the conflict gang is not unknown to middle- and upper-income communities of the city, its usual breeding grounds are the older and deteriorated neighborhoods, frequently located in the semi-industrialized areas of the city where home and factories merge imperceptibly into one another. A new factor has been added in recent years. Towering housing projects are superimposed on these slums, and in the process of leveling the old communities by the power shovel and planting new ones, families are indiscriminately shuffled in and out of the neighborhood. Established community patterns and relationships are broken, and an environment more disorganized and impersonal than the preceding one is frequently created. Waves of immigrants, many of whom are Puerto Ricans and Negroes from the South, have also

moved into these areas, developing a feeling of rootlessness which has been accentuated by the 'culture clash' between their new environment and the old. These new groups are confronted with a number of critical problems that tend to undermine their cohesiveness as a family unit. The wage earners are usually

devoid of the kinds of skills that can be remuneratively employed in the city's industries; housing is either grossly inadequate or economically crippling, or sometimes both; and prejudice and unfamiliar customs and norms further contribute to their sense of hopelessness and frustration."

Losing the Battle—

A Sociologist Looks at Juvenile Delinquency

**By Walter C. Reckless, Professor of Sociology,
Ohio State University**

UNFORTUNATELY, the very forces which have made America great, such as its individualism, democracy, mobility, free access to goods and communication, have at the same time created a sort of "jam session" social life, in which individuals can play their own themes, pretty much without score, can soar like balloons without ballast (reasonable limits and expectations), and can aggrandize themselves readily at the expense of others. All these components have developed a low frustration tolerance in people, especially young people, who can brook very little interference with the immediate satisfaction of their wishes and desires. Much of modern delinquency, affecting the upper and middle classes of children, as well as the lower classes of children, seems to emanate from social life which lacks reasonable limits, expectations, appropriate roles for children, and which elongates adolescence almost interminably.

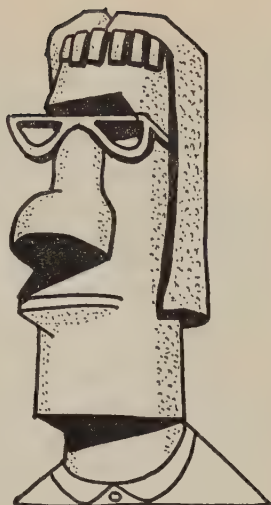
America's strength as a free country, with unusual opportunities for individuals, is also its weakness. Underdeveloped countries seem relatively to be able to hold the line against delinquency much better than America, because their problems are poverty and migratory disruption, rather than individual aggrandizement and low frustration tolerance.

Our historic emphasis on local government, with delegation of powers by the Constitution to the states and from the state constitutions and laws to the counties, townships, and municipalities, has turned over the organization and support of most of the facilities for dealing with delinquency to local jurisdictions, that is, police service, detention home provisions, juvenile court procedure, probation service, and prevention projects. Only a small percentage of local jurisdictions are equal to the financial task of supporting such services and facilities. Grants-in-aid

from the state might be one way to provide the necessary basis of support. Actual operation of service by the state, such as a state-wide probation service, regional detention homes, state-wide police service, district juvenile courts, is another way of overcoming the support of programs. The small states, however, will have to get funds from the Federal Government to make up for their shortage in tax base.

The states historically have assumed responsibility for the case of delinquent juveniles committed to their custody. They have also assumed responsibility for the follow-up supervision of the boys and girls released from the state schools for delinquents. The latter service has always been greatly undermanned, whereas the institutions for the delinquent juveniles have had a difficult time in getting proper support. The same small states which cannot afford to support local detention, probation, and juvenile court services are most usually the same ones which have difficulty in supporting the institutional care and follow-up supervision of children committed as delinquents. In addition to the problem of economic support in states and local jurisdictions, there is also the problem of lack of interest in or indifference to the proper handling of juvenile delinquents on the part of the public and the key politicians who constitute the local power structure. Inadequate service for delinquent youth means very little to the public and the politicians.

In spite of valiant efforts of civic-minded leaders to humanize and individualize the treatment of juvenile



delinquents, and in spite of great gains which have been made in the last two generations, the battle against delinquency in the United States is being lost at present. If the juvenile delinquency problem still continues to be a low priority problem in public support, there is no hope that the tide will turn. Our local government is not equal to the task of winning the battle, and our "jam session" society is not equal to reasonable containment of its children and teen-agers.

One possibility for a good rear-guard action is for the adults concerned with the misdeeds of children to overlook such behavior as much as possible and to develop widespread sympathy for overlooking minor transgressions and to accept the practice of reporting to the police and court only serious cases. Perhaps, after all, America may have bitten off more than it could chew when it tried to cushion youth against the difficulties and pressures in their lives.

It might be a good idea for America to adopt the Swedish system of handling delinquent youth, whereby no child under fourteen years of age can be considered delinquent or handled as a delinquent. Such a system would reduce delinquency at least 20 per cent in the United States and would have the advantage of being understood and accepted by most of the public. Even if the United States never could adopt such a system, there is some merit to the idea of narrowing the scope of juvenile court laws, retaining behavior coverage only on serious violations of the criminal code by youths under such and such an age. This would eliminate jurisdiction over truancy, waywardness, incorrigibility, running away from home, and sex misbehavior. Such cases could then be legally overlooked and diverted to child welfare agencies or public-school resources. The American public may need to accept overlooking as a necessary reality and cease to be quite as concerned for where a youth might be headed. (This is most difficult for a welfare-minded American.) Our country may be coming to a stage in its social development in which truancy and running away from home are no longer really important, while sex misbehavior in girls is made worse by making a great to-do over it. . . .

The causes of delinquency are social and psychiatric. Not many delinquencies arise from economic reasons. Most frequently sociological causes are lack of parental supervision, conflicts with parents and siblings, street corner groupings, and lack of supportive community goals and standards. Most frequent psychiatric causes arise from psychopathic personalities who lack internal controls rather than from neurotics.

Much could be done to lower delinquency by developing uniform age and role status. Treatment of children has changed rapidly from patriarchal and authoritarian to overpermissive. This rapid and undigested shift is seen in the patchwork of ages which legally recognize maturity. Children can work at 16; drive cars at 14, 15, 16, 17, or 18; be drafted at 18; marry at 16, 18, or 21; but not vote until 21. Delinquency often arises from this fuzziness and conflict. Churches can help by getting behind movements for social structure to provide clear role status and responsibility to teenagers. (*The National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church has granted permission to reprint Dr. Reckless' address before the Conference on Juvenile Delinquency, May, 1958.*)

The United Nations Surveys a World-wide Problem

**From a Comparative Survey of Juvenile Delinquency
in North America, by Dr. Paul W. Tappan, Professor
of Sociology and Law, New York University**

Dr. Tappan's report is part of a world-wide study prepared by the Secretariat of the United Nations at the request of the Social Commission and the Economic and Social Council in 1958. The study consists of five regional reports, dealing with Asia and the Far East, Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and North America. In addition to the published reports, the United Nations has conducted seminars in three of the regions and sponsored two international meetings on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders.

It appears that the mass society of metropolitan areas, with its materialistic and competitive emphasis, breeds a greater volume of delinquency than do the village and the open country, and also provides more generously to combat it. Unfortunately experience indicates thus far that the generative forces are far more effective than the prophylaxes. Despite the varied and expensive modern treatment efforts, there has thus far appeared no real evidence that the Americans have come to reduce delinquency or appreciably to mitigate its seriousness. . . .

It has been observed that ethnic and racial minorities are often segregated in the areas of high delinquency and crime rates in our cities. These offenders are very commonly underprivileged, and often they are the second- or third-generation American born of foreign-born lineage. They are marked by a high rate of residential mobility and by an excessive amount of physical and mental illness, family breakdown, unemployment, and various other in-

dices of disorganization. Characteristically, too, these delinquency areas lack the number and quality of social services—clinical, case-work, educational and religious—that are needed for the resident population. The breeding grounds of delinquency in the cities display cultural conflicts between the parent cultures of the immigrant populations and the norms that are indigenous to the American society. The deterioration of standards in the individuals and their families appears to be related in some measure to the conflicts in values, the relative poverty and demoralizing circumstances of their lives, and the lack of resources sufficient to combat pathological symptoms.

With the increasing recognition of the common ecological patterning of delinquency and social disorganization in large cities, there has been a considerable movement in slum clearance and subsidized housing and some expansion of preventive and remedial services to aid those who are submarginal in their condi-

tions of living. The effects of such efforts are not yet clear, in part because of the difficulties of objective measurement of the complicated problems that are involved. For the most part, we have proceeded on the faith that an increased saturation of assorted welfare services in these areas must ultimately diminish the maladjustments of those who had lived in socially and morally depressed circumstances. Sheldon and Eleanor Gluek's latest research (*Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*) raises the question, however, whether the difficulties may not lie deep in the family situation—whether the inadequate relationships within the delinquent family may not be responsible for recalcitrance that improvement in living conditions, taken alone, cannot remedy. . . .

Rural areas continue to be characterized by a greater respect for tradition, family mores, the church, and the forces of law and order. They suffer a smaller, though increasing, pressure from the mass society with its conflicts and its superficial and elastic standards. Problems within the family and between the family and the community are fewer; where they develop they tend to be dealt with either by the family itself or by the intercession of friendly and informal forces in the community. Formal court and agency services are less commonly required. They are also less often available. There is greater self-help and mutual aid in these communities of more homogeneous population. There are greater pride and loyalty in relation to their families, their communities, and their God. As these dwindle, the demand for

agency facilities and professional services increases. More clinics, detention facilities, social agencies, and psychiatrically oriented case workers are moved into the hinterland to diagnose and manipulate the individuals who have lost their primary group values and their capacity to relate to the community. It appears quite possible that their services have very little relationship to the underlying difficulties.

Finally, it should be noted that the prevention and treatment programs in the American region are markedly segmentalized. While this may be characteristic as well in other parts of the world, it is perhaps peculiarly striking in the United States. This segmentation may be observed in three major forms: localism, partialism, and individualization, each of which will be discussed here briefly.

Largely because of the combination of federalism with state autonomy and a fear of centralized power, the United States has tended for the most part to avoid strong nationwide programs of prevention and treatment. While the roots of delinquency run deeply into the soil of American culture—with its materialism, its intense competition, its repugnance to political authority and regulation, its conflicts of values and of institutional norms, and its deterioration of standards of behavior—efforts to meet the resulting problems of personal disorganization and anti-social character formation are largely on a local community and county basis. Even with the contemporary development of state and Federal aid to local programs, the locality re-

mains paramount as the focus of planning and standards. The result of this has been peculiarly unfortunate in the failure to cope with organized interstate crime, as recent Federal and state investigations have clearly revealed.

In the field of delinquency prevention and treatment, too, the lack of co-ordination has implied wide variation in the standards and methods of service that are provided in different parts of the country. The role of Federal agencies (such as the United States Children's Bureau) and private national bodies (the National Council on Crime and Delinquency and the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies, for example) has been limited actually to implementing uniform standards or techniques in the handling of children. The peculiarities of localism are preferred in the American culture to the possible consequences of centralized uniformity. They are believed to result in certain advantages in terms of state and local experimentation, in grappling better with the diverse local problems, in preserving the relatively intimate local interest and pride in the solution of its own problems, while at the same time national and regional experience and aid may be shared by the locality. Nevertheless, the limited autonomous focus obviously restricts the experimentation designed to meet the delinquency problem.

Partialism and graduation in efforts to meet the social, economic, and political problems have been characteristic of American ethos. The "New Deal" of recent years has brought more rapid social evolution

on a partially planned basis than has been customary in the United States. For the most part both improvements and errors are made slowly and partially, with concessions in response to conflicting interests in the society. Whatever advantages may accrue from the inclination to compromise and defer action, particularly in the conserving of what appears to be valuable, the effect is also inevitably to prevent any vigorous effort to eradicate problems. The United States has come to manipulate the economy to some extent by limiting the range in standards of living among the population; to spread a measure of social provisions to mitigate economic and social hardships; and to establish diverse facilities—clinics, social agencies, and other resources—to help individuals in trouble. There is no doubt, however, with all this, that the tendency is to focus attention mainly on symptoms and on immediate crises—a preoccupation with *externalia* rather than with the essence. Americans are profoundly skeptical of chiseling at the foundations of their social order. They prefer the pathological by-products along with the beneficent effects of their system to the indeterminate consequences of profound change. As a result they tend to operate superficially in the hope that thus their problems may be alleviated, even when such disorders as crime and delinquency are apparently inherent in their social-cultural organization. Perhaps more than anything else Americans distrust the great amount of power—and its possible abuse—that would be required to pound their social structure into some new configuration. Hence they

compromise with evil by the partialism of their remedies in the hope that thereby they may ultimately come closer to the ideal.

A special aspect of the partialism in the Americans' approach to social problems, including delinquency, is the emphasis, so strong in society today, on individualization in treatment approaches. They recognize the offender as a product of social forces—inadequacies in the family, the church, the school, the economy, the state, and the total culture. Nevertheless, their primary emphasis is upon a highly individualized, clinical orientation in prevention and correction. To a greater extent than in other countries, apparently, they operate on the hypothesis that counseling, guidance, and other types of therapy for the individual will prevent or remedy delinquency that emerges from pressures of group living, even if those

pressures continue undiminished. To be sure, some of the American juvenile correctional institutions do stress the group-living experience and a few employ methods of group therapy. For the most part, however, attention focuses upon the person as though he were an independent unit.

The increasingly prevalent notion among psychiatrists and case workers that all delinquency is symptomatic of emotional illness is an evidence of and a contribution to this individualized conception of causation and treatment. In some measure, at least, it reflects the view that the difficulties encountered in the United States are a consequence of personal inadequacies in a culture that is essentially sound and adequate. As a consequence, psychiatric therapy, casework, probation, and parole emphasize the delinquent as an independent unit and give too little attention to the groups in which he participates.

UNDERSTANDING YOUR COMMUNITY

The following is a compilation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation of some of the factors that affect the amount and type of crime in the community, but it should be noted that these are not all-inclusive:

- *Population of the city and metropolitan area adjacent thereto*
 - *The composition of the population with reference particularly to age, sex, and race*
 - *The economic status and activities of the population*
 - *Relative stability of population*
 - *Climate*
 - *Educational, recreational, and religious facilities*
 - *The number of police employees per unit of population*
 - *The standards governing appointments to the police force*
 - *The policies of the prosecuting officials and the courts*
 - *The attitude of the public toward law enforcement problems*
 - *The degree of efficiency of the local law enforcement agency*
- Uniform Crime Reports—1959

LAW AND ORDER

A Look at Public Agencies and Institutions

Law Enforcement

One very significant development during the past decade was the rapid expansion of the recognition that dealing with juvenile offenders is a highly specialized branch of police work. This growing recognition is reflected in the birth of the International Juvenile Officers Association which, though only a few years old, is already providing strong, sound leadership for enlightened and effective police work with the juvenile offender. The past ten years have also seen the creation, in several states, of special training courses for police juvenile officers, ranging from institutes of a few days' duration to university courses covering six weeks or more of intensive study.

In addition to the improved handling of juvenile offenders resulting from these developments, this growing body of specialized juvenile officers is beginning to make a tremendous contribution to the nation's understanding of the delinquency problem and how it should be handled. The officers find little justification for the frequently raised cry to "get tough with the young hoodlums"; instead, their plea is for greater understanding of the problems faced by each of these youngsters as an individual human being,

for a sober facing up to the great social and cultural pressures that are warping their growth, and for the expansion of services and facilities to help them meet their problems and find the road to a fuller, more creative way of life.

Courts

For sixty years the juvenile courts of this nation, created initially to take children out of the criminal courts and to provide procedures and services for their correction and rehabilitation, have stood as a promise only partially fulfilled. While their achievements have been great, these achievements have constantly been curtailed and counterbalanced by failures to develop their full potential for the control and treatment of juvenile delinquency.

One item of major concern is the lack of public understanding of what a juvenile court is and does and the resulting misinformed attacks on this vital institution of justice. It is not at all unusual, for example, to hear the juvenile court and its philosophy of individualized justice blamed for the increasing rate of juvenile delinquency. This line of attack, however, completely ignores the fact that the juvenile court never sees a youngster until he is already delinquent, or alleged to be delinquent, and that its

role is preventive only in the sense that it helps to prevent the repetition of delinquent behavior among those youngsters who do come to the court's attention.

Another attack commonly made on the juvenile court as an institution is the claim that it has failed to demonstrate that the treatment approach to juvenile delinquency is more effective than the punitive or retribution approach. This attack, too, is based on ignorance of all the pertinent facts. It is quite obvious that a treatment approach can be effective only if the court is staffed with a sufficient number of persons trained in treatment skills. Yet the truth is that fewer than one third of the juvenile courts in this nation have even nearly adequate staff.

It seems incredible, but is nevertheless true, that the geographic locality in which a child happens to live may determine whether he receives skillful, individualized treatment when he gets into trouble with the law or is handled by a part-time juvenile court without any of the facilities or services essential to the application of true juvenile court philosophy. The reason for this disparity in "justice" is simple: except in three states, the burden of providing juvenile court services must be borne entirely or largely by local government, and the majority of local governments in the United States are not financially able to provide all of the funds needed to operate a juvenile court and its services.

Another weakness in the present system of juvenile courts is the lack of specialist judges serving these courts. Except for the larger centers of population, most juvenile courts

are presided over on a part-time basis by a judge whose primary responsibility is some other court. In addition, there is little or no preparation for this important judicial office in the law school curriculum.

On the other side of the ledger are the development of a carefully planned, professionally staffed citizen action program on corrections and the formation of a nationwide advisory council of judges. The first, made possible through a grant from the Ford Foundation, involves the development in selected states of committees consisting of outstanding business, industrial, labor, religious, and other leaders to study, analyze, and take action on the various correctional problems.

The National Council on Crime and Delinquency's Advisory Council of Judges, in co-operation with the National Council of Juvenile Court Judges, financed by a grant from the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation, has already provided invaluable judicial leadership at the national level in the establishment of good standards of practice and in the production of materials for the guidance of judges. Its potential for future leadership in the improvement of services for children is great.

Family Courts

Another significant trend observable in the past decade was the growing interest in the establishment of family courts which would deal with all court matters pertaining to children and families. While the family court is not a new idea, the 1950's saw several such courts created at the local level, and two states going so far as to conduct state-wide sur-

veys aimed at the establishment of state-wide, state-operated systems of regional family courts. Several aspects of this trend seem to have particular significance in regard to the improvement of court services for children and youth in trouble: (1) it gives recognition to the concept that family problems and delinquency are not completely separated phenomena but different facets of one constellation; (2) it is more feasible for a relatively small community to employ a full-time judge for a family court than for a court with juvenile jurisdiction only; (3) the family court is usually at the same level in the court hierarchy as courts of highest general jurisdiction, while juvenile courts are often at a county or municipal court level; (4) for this reason, family courts can more easily be developed on a state-wide, regional basis as district or circuit courts, with full state support, than can juvenile courts, which have traditionally been considered a local responsibility in most states.

As long as the American people place all the blame on the delinquent youngster, as though he were an invader from Mars and not a product of our own civilization, or on the juvenile court, for failing to do a job for which it has been given no tools, they will continue to wrap themselves in self-righteous indignation. In doing so they will avoid facing the facts or providing the moral and financial support needed to enable the courts to do an effective job of correction and rehabilitation.

Correctional Institutions

One of the weakest links in the chain of correctional resources is the

juvenile correctional, or training, school to which the courts commit youngsters needing institutional care and treatment. In most of our states, not only are these schools handicapped by antiquated physical plants, poorly trained and numerically inadequate staff, and lack of a real treatment program, but they are also so overcrowded that release is geared to the need for space rather than the youngster's readiness to return to the community.

Detention Facilities

Another serious gap in the resources for handling the delinquent youngster is the lack of proper juvenile detention facilities in the great majority of communities throughout the nation. In most states, there are more children detained in jails than in properly designed and staffed detention homes.

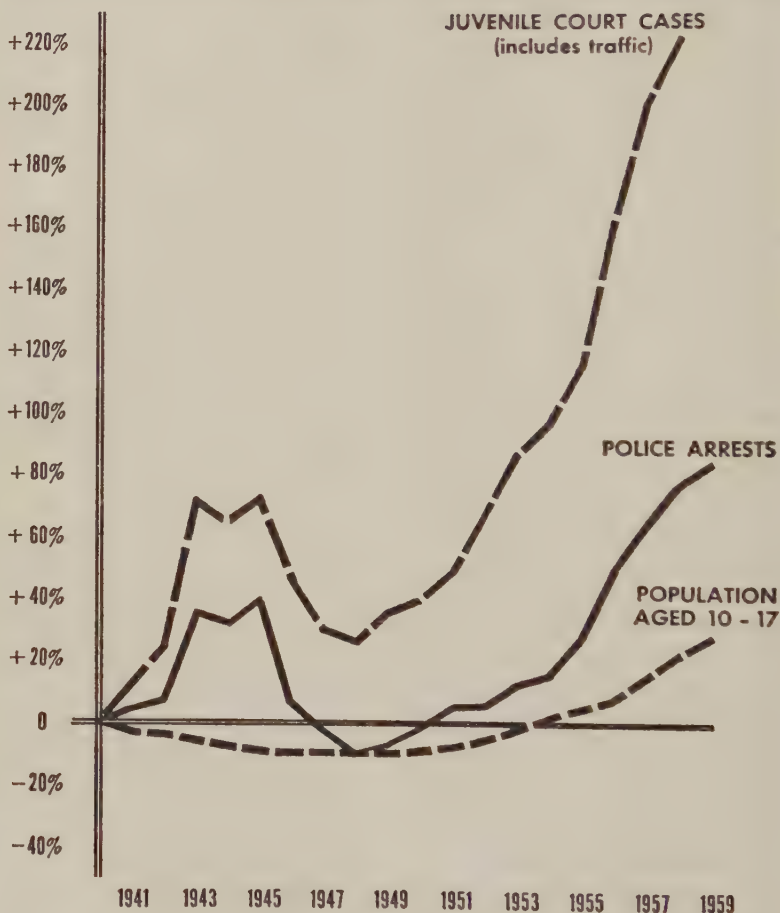
Aftercare

The same situation is true in respect to the aftercare program for youngsters released from the training schools and returned to their own communities. In all but a handful of states, the aftercare program is left to some local agency (probation department, child welfare unit, etc.) or in the hands of the individual institution releasing the child. Under these circumstances, the help the child receives at this crucial point in the treatment process is a hit-or-miss affair, depending upon where he lives rather than upon what he needs.

—*From Focus on Children and Youth, prepared for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth. Used by permission.*

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

1940 -- 1959
PERCENT CHANGE



JUVENILE COURT DATA FROM CHILDREN'S BUREAU
POLICE ARREST DATA FROM UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS
POPULATION DATA FROM BUREAU OF CENSUS

FBI CHART

BACK TO THE WOODSHED?

Prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency seem to be related, but before we can say with any assurance how the subject of delinquency should be presented we need much more understanding of the basic whys and wherefores. The following procedures suggesting proposed prevention measures indicate agreement only that discipline is but one aspect of prevention.

JUDGES, educators, social workers and social scientists, police officers and other public officials, have made many proposals for the prevention of deviant behavior in young people. Experts from all over the world have been studying both treatment and prevention at the request of the United Nations and its Social Commission and the Economic and Social Council.

Regional seminars have been convened by the UN, and regional reports have been published dealing with delinquency in the Far East, Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and North America. Comparative appraisals of treatment and preventive measures have been included in comprehensive reports that have been made available by the UN Secretariat and placed before various study groups. Last summer a world-wide congress on juvenile delinquency was convened under UN auspices in London. The focus there was on both prevention and treatment.

Although statistics are limited, they clearly indicate the tragedy and complexity, not to mention cost, of delinquency problems, and point up the urgency of discovering some preventive measures. The data we do have seem to indicate that there is

almost as much disagreement about the whys and wherefores as there is about treatment and correction. This is not to discourage prevention, but to emphasize the need for much further study and experimentation and continued consultation between the persons who are primarily concerned with the rehabilitation and treatment of offenders with the social resources of communities that are focusing on the prevention of this complex problem. Hopefully we will discover in the process that what aids in the rehabilitation of one group of offenders will help to prevent another group from getting into trouble. Here are illustrations of both the need for research and experimentation and the need for co-ordination between prevention and correction.

Educators and welfare workers, for example, are concerned about unemployed, out-of-school youth. As jobs are found for them the hope is that recidivism to correctional institutions will be reduced, and that delinquency will be prevented, but before these happy results are obtained much more must be known about the reasons for school dropouts and the lack of employment opportunities for thousands of young people. It is true that accurate statistics are

needed, but so also is study of both the prevailing economic practices of labor and management and school curriculum that is attempting to prepare young people to get and hold jobs. In such study and analysis the experts need to understand what types of employment are opening in a given community, the effect of automation, the prevailing practices of industry and business, and what can be done to aid and place the young person with marginal skills who will



have a difficult time adjusting to the job requirements of highly technical, automated industries.

Richard Pearlman, a statistician in the Children's Bureau, states that "most statistics on delinquency indicate that a disproportionate number of delinquent children come from slums, economically deprived areas, but we know very little as to why some children brought up in the same type of environment go on to

become respected, successful citizens. Examination of statistics reveals that some children commit an offense for the first time, and never commit another, while others repeat their offenses over and over again. We know very little as to why this occurs. Is it that the manner of dealing with children is successful for some and not for others? And why should this be? Or is it that some children accidentally or impulsively involved in delinquency on one occasion would probably never repeat their offenses again, regardless of services available? From the statistics we know that most children are likely to be about fourteen or fifteen years old when first referred to court for delinquency. If symptoms predisposing these youngsters to delinquency could have been discovered at an earlier age, as some researchers have been recently trying to do, could we have prevented these children from getting into difficulty?

"Such questions and many more need answering in order to make a great impact on the prevention of delinquency. Some answers to them are being experimentally sought. Some new preventive measures of working with possibly delinquent children are being tried and tested. Such attempts are laudable, but they are too little and come very late. Research on a much grander scale is necessary. There also needs to be a more discriminate determination of what needs to be done and what will be productive in this illusory field. Even on a grand scale, the cost of research would be small in comparison with the cost of delinquency."

VARIATIONS IN DEVIATION RATES

By Henry D. McKay, Institute for Juvenile Research and Chicago Area Project, from *Social Problems*, Summer 1960. Used by permission.

CONVENTIONAL values dominate the social life of most communities, but in varying degrees, alternative value systems, which challenge conventional values, are present. And when conflicting value systems are present, both will be transmitted to children. Variation in conduct among persons is accounted for by the fact that kinds of values are transmitted differentially, both because all persons do not have the same experiences, and because what appears to be the same experience has different meaning to each individual. In other words, the proportion of law violators and nonviolators in different types of areas will tend to vary with the extent to which conventional values dominate social life.

The community characteristics which are related to real differences in the social experiences of children must vary directly with variation in rates. As used here, the term "community" does not mean the land, or the people, or the housing, or the concentration of many types of social problems. It is used to designate the constellation of institutions around which life is organized and through which meaningful roles are found and control maintained. A meaningful use of the word "community" is even broader than this. It is the ap-

propriate designation for the whole range of human activity, legal and illegal, formal and informal, organized and spontaneous, which is found in the area within which the institutions function. It is the name for the social world which the child comes to know through experience as he grows to adulthood. The differences among these worlds should be identified and described.

Variations among communities are readily observable. In areas of high rates of delinquents the institutions through which conventional values are transmitted have been disrupted and made ineffective as agencies of control. Change, migration, mobility within the area, as well as the presence of new problems for which there are no institutional answers, all are involved in varying degrees in this disruption. In the areas of highest rates, which usually are the ones which have undergone a rapid change in population, neither conventional nor unconventional institutions exercise much control. There are many organizations but little unanimity of opinion; there are many action groups but little social action dealing with broad issues. Institutions like the church and school give some support to conventional activities, but these are counteracted by the presence of crime and

delinquency. Adolescent males tend to be detached from the basic institutions, and outside of these institutions the opportunities for meaningful conventional activities are limited.

Areas of low rates of delinquents differ only in degree from areas of higher rates. In areas of low rates institutions symbolizing conventional values are stronger, and those representing opposition to conventional values are weaker and less threatening, than are comparable institutions in areas of high rates. It is from the vantage point of the dominance of conventional institutions and values that these areas can be called better integrated.

Finally, the question of the relationship between different proportions of conventional and nonconventional institutions and groups in an area and the conduct of children needs to be considered. Conceptually, this may profitably be thought of in terms of probability theory. If, for example, it is assumed that conventional and nonconventional values are equally represented in an area, it is not to be expected that each child will reflect this particular proportion of values in his conduct. Instead, on the basis of probability alone, and without reference to individual differences, early training, or similar variables, it is to be expected that a small proportion of the children would reflect conventional values only, a few would reflect unconventional values only, and the rest would reflect combinations of these values ranging from one extreme to the other.

This approach to the problem has several values. First, it draws atten-

tion to the fact that in areas of conflicting value systems predictions about conduct can be made only in terms of proportions of the population and not for particular individuals; second, it draws attention to the fact that most persons can be expected to participate, in varying degrees, in activities representing both value systems, and seldom in one or the other exclusively; and finally, it draws attention once more to the fact that the difference between the delinquent and the nondelinquent is only one of degree. Almost all children participate in some violative behavior. It is only when this violative behavior, either because of its seriousness or its repetitiveness, exceeds the tolerance of the community that the courts define the violators as delinquents.

Defined in broad terms, differential association includes the whole range of human participation in community life. Variations in rates of delinquents among areas reflect differentials in the number of official offenders, differentials in the levels of violative behavior, and wide differences in the stability and effectiveness of basic institutions.

Programs for the prevention of delinquency and the treatment of delinquents in inner-city areas characterized by value conflict are divided into three types. First are the programs aimed at intervention in the life of the person, such as psychotherapy; second is the wide variety of programs designed to change the situation either by modifying the moral order, with such activities as community organizations, or by altering the pattern of participation, with such programs as corner group

guidance; and third are the natural processes which tend to decrease delinquency without planned programs, as seen when groups move out of inner-city areas. All these activities alter, or seek to alter, human experiences differentially. At the present time the combined influences of those rational programs and natural processes furnish only fair prospects for the control of delinquency in the inner-city areas of large cities.

The Problem of Intervention

With this discussion of the problem and the situation in which it is concentrated as a background, prevention and treatment as related to differential association will be discussed under three headings: (1) intervention in the life of the person; (2) intervention in the situation; (3) unplanned intervention. The first two represent the basic theoretical orientations used in prevention and treatment. The third category includes some forms of spontaneous intervention which do not fit into either of the others.

From a legal point of view, prevention and treatment are quite different. In treatment, it is assumed that the person already has been defined as an offender. In prevention, it is assumed that acts which could be defined as offenses must be prevented from happening. But if, as assumed here, violative behavior represents a continuum in the population, then the differences between prevention and treatment are only differences of degree. It follows that programs may be needed for many who are not official offenders. The additional elements in treatment programs for those already defined as

delinquent arise from the fact that the violations committed by this group of offenders may have been more serious or more persistent than the acts of others in the population, plus the possible negative consequences of being defined as offenders.

Intervention in the Life of the Person

Attempts to intervene in the life of the person are directed both toward prevention and toward treatment. Several different assumptions underlie these programs. When the legal system is involved, some threat of punishment or censure for future action is implicit. If it is assumed, as it often is, that the crime problem developed in the family early in the life of the person, then some program for improving family life would be a preventive program. The alternative would be preventive psychotherapy to negate the effects of unfavorable family life. Psychotherapy also is the basic device for treatment. From the point of view of differential association, this might be presented as an effort to help the person to associate with others differentially.

The court system which deals with young offenders is oriented essentially toward the individual. The court defines the limits of tolerance of the community at any given moment and deals with the offender within the limit of its facilities in terms of that definition. Of course, the policeman, or better, the juvenile officer, makes the first definition and, institutionally speaking, probably is in the most advantageous position for preventive work. He can deal with the alleged offender severely or

gently, officially or personally, and for certain types of cases make use of whatever facilities are available outside of his own system. It seems probable that the significance of the role of the juvenile officer in the whole treatment and preventive program has been underestimated.

At this time in our country there is a lively debate over the value of the official defining process. Some take the point of view that a clear statement of the position of the community toward the offender is a necessary step in treatment. Others take the point of view that association with other young offenders in the detention home and in the court, plus the fact that a court record interferes with participation in conventional groups, makes appearance in court an experience which stimulates delinquent conduct. Since one of these positions accents the legal and the other the behavioral point of view, they represent different axes not easily reconciled.

One popular type of preventive program directed toward the individual is the program sometimes identified as early identification. In this program it is assumed that children who are secretive, inhibited, aggressive, rebellious, troublesome, or who in any other way challenge conventional values, either in the school, on the playground, or in the home, are likely to grow up to be delinquent and should therefore be treated to prevent such a development. Probably children with such difficulties are more likely to become delinquents than are children without them. But this only states the problem. In answering it there are some real difficulties.

Psychotherapy usually has been considered to be the appropriate form of treatment for children identified early as potential offenders, and few would challenge the idea that children with serious personality problems should be treated to the full extent of our technique and knowledge. But a clear evaluation of the relation of this procedure to delinquency has been prevented by the uncritical assumption that the terms "personality problems" and "conduct problems" are two ways of saying the same thing. Actually, these are two types of problems representing separate axes. While some children with personality problems may be delinquent, and some delinquents may have personality problems, it does not follow even in these cases that one problem is causally related to the other.

Even without intervention the problems of some children are solved as they pass into other age grades; some keep their problems to adulthood without being more delinquent than their neighbors; and some do become delinquent. But this number represents a small part of the delinquency problem. In fact, the proportion of distorted personalities in delinquent groups does not appear to differ much from the proportion of disturbed personalities in other groups.

But the most serious question about the early identification program arises out of the fact that it may increase delinquency. If the fact that a child has been defined as a troublemaker or a potential delinquent becomes known to his peers and defined by them negatively, his participation in social groups could

be greatly affected. The negative results arising directly from this preventive program might be role problems, isolation, or definition of self as an offender.

Intervention in the Social Situation

Differential association enters into programs directed toward the person somewhat indirectly. On the other hand, in programs involving intervention in the social situation it is a central concept. It may take two forms: (1) It may represent an effort to change the situation in which the child participates, to change the moral order of his community, or (2) It may represent an effort to control or manipulate the areas of participation of the child without changing the whole moral order. While these differences are real, it is possible that prevention and treatment programs might be designed to do either or both.

As related to intervention in the social situation, there is not much difference between prevention and treatment. In terms of association, prevention might be defined as an attempt to increase the areas of participation in conventional groups and to decrease participation in nonconventional groups.

No attempt will be made to discuss each program designed to change the situation or participation in it. Instead, programs will be grouped by type. The first group is the whole cluster of agencies designated as recreation, character-building, and group work agencies.

Some of these institutions have put high value on recreation, others have emphasized contacts with group

leaders, others have favored arts and crafts, and still others, athletics. No doubt these activities and others like them can be justified as ends in themselves. But the problem here is the relationship between these activities and conduct, and none has been established. From the vantage point of differential association, the positive values would be those arising from bringing nonconventional persons into association with more conventional elements in the community, and from the presence of conventional staff members.

Another type of intervention in the situation is the attempt to give leadership to groups of boys outside of the traditional institutional agency framework. This program will be identified as corner group work. About ten years ago, in a volume called *Reaching the Unreached*, the New York Board revealed to the public what had been known to workers for a long time, namely, that conventional agencies cannot reach serious offenders through regular programs. Since that time, detached worker programs, outside of the regular conventional programs, have been established in many large cities. The forms of these programs have varied widely among cities and among agencies in the same city. Some of these programs have had modest success, but it is still too early to make a final appraisal.

Several types of intervention in the social situation fall under the general heading, "community organization programs." As the terms imply, these programs represent attempts to change, through social action, the milieu in which children grow up.

A program for co-ordination offers a framework within which leadership and resources from outside the areas of high rates of delinquents can be combined with leadership and resources from the local area. This is the crucial problem. If the program is to succeed, some opportunity for meaningful participation in it must be made available both to the people in the area and those outside. Both also must share in the control and the credit. Until such a division of power and responsibility is worked out, there can be no real co-ordination of nonindigenous agencies and local institutions.

Another type of community organization is represented by the Area Project program, which was developed under the leadership of the late Clifford R. Shaw. This program represents a shift of power from outside to inside the areas of high incidence of problems. Under their own name and without controls from outside the neighborhood, these autonomous groups, called community committees, make their own decisions and control their own affairs. To some extent, at least, this program has combined local resources with those from the outside.

Unplanned Programs

Three "natural" or unplanned processes which fall outside the area of deliberate intervention should be mentioned. In the attainment of broad goals, these processes seem to operate more effectively than our more rationally formulated plans.

The first process is the tendency of young men to get out of crime as they reach the age when they take on

adult roles and obligations. Responsibilities which develop with marriage, parenthood, and the support of a family relieve the detachment from basic institutions which characterizes the late adolescent years by furnishing devices through which contact with conventional activities can be established.

The second natural process is the development of new institutional forms. The tendency can be noted in corner groups which become much more conventional as social athletic clubs, in adult crime organizations which move toward more conventional businesses, and in nonprofessional offenders who seek conventional affiliations. It can be seen more clearly in the numberless organizations and voluntary associations which are found in socially disrupted areas. Most of these social forms will not survive, but some, if they meet real human needs, will develop in the direction of basic social institutions.

The last of these processes is the movement of groups from inner-city areas outward in space and upward in the social structures, and the decrease in delinquency and crime as they move. Our data indicate that the rates of delinquents in the outer areas do not increase relatively with this outward movement. This suggests that the stronger, more integrated conventional institutions in these communities not only incorporate the newcomers and furnish them with new roles and opportunities, but also counteract the unconventional patterns brought from the inner-city areas. In this way the odds in the differential association process are modified.

An Attempt to Prevent Delinquency

**From *Origins of Crime*, by William McCord and Joan McCord,
with Irving Kenneth Zola. Columbia University Press, 1959.**

Used by permission.

THE year 1935 marked the beginning of what many hoped would be the most progressive experiment in many years—the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study. The project had originated in the fertile mind of Dr. Richard Clarke Cabot, a distinguished physician and social philosopher. . . . [Its] purpose was to prevent delinquency and to develop stable elements in the characters of the children. Believing that friendship with an adult counselor might prevent criminality, Cabot provided generous funds and formulated extensive plans for the treatment of hundreds of boys over a ten-year period. He selected two industrialized cities in Massachusetts as the setting for the project. Densely populated, dominated by factories, and economically deteriorated, Cambridge and Somerville possessed those social conditions most fertile to delinquency. . . .

Approximately one thousand boys were referred by the city schools, churches, social agencies, and the police department to the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study. The staff of the project carefully evaluated the boys, selecting a core whom they believed would benefit from individual counseling and social work. To this group of maladjusted children, an equal number of average or “nor-

mal” boys were added to counteract a reputation which the project might have developed as a refuge for “bad boys.” A total of 650 children was ultimately selected to be subjects of the experiment.

Since Dr. Cabot wanted to test the results of treatment, his plans provided for a control group so that the efficacy of his approach could be established as objectively as possible. The treatment group was to receive the counseling offered by the project; the control group would receive only such services as were proffered by the community. . . .

Of course, the control group had to be as nearly similar to the experimental group as possible. Laboriously, the 650 boys were divided into 325 matched pairs. They were equated in terms of physical health, intelligence, emotional adjustment, home background, neighborhood, and “delinquency prognosis.” . . .

The Cambridge-Somerville experiment primarily attempted to prevent delinquency. It sought to obtain, through a controlled test of treatment, possible cures. Yet due to the foresight of its directors, a mass of evidence concerning the etiology of crime was accumulated. The project’s workers played with, interviewed, counseled, and advised hundreds of children. Social workers

investigated the neighborhoods and recorded the school progress of each boy. Perceptive investigators visited their homes, talked with their parents, and observed their families. Psychologists and psychiatrists measured intelligence and analyzed the personalities of the children. From all this came thousands of pages of records.

Seldom has so large a group of children been so carefully studied over such a long period of time. . . .

Unfortunately, the project did not fulfill Dr. Cabot's plans either in intensity or in duration of treatment. However, a very large number of children received social aid and some individual counseling averaging close to five years per boy. Furthermore, careful records had been kept. Thus, the Cambridge-Somerville project provided an opportunity for evaluation of treatment—analagous to many similar treatment practices—and it stands as a unique event in the battle against delinquency.

The first evaluation of effectiveness was attempted before the program had ended. A variety of psychological tests, a check on school adjustment, and a review of court records failed to turn up any significant differences between the treatment group and the control group.

In 1948, Edwin Powers and Dr. Helen Witmer began a more careful analysis of the experiment. In 1951, *An Experiment in the Prevention of Delinquency* (Columbia University Press), their report on the project, was published. . . .

In summary, the analyses conducted by Powers and Witmer, three years after termination of the proj-

ect, seemed almost totally discouraging. Dr. Witmer commented: "Dr. Cabot's hypothesis . . . appears to be disproved." Edwin Powers wrote: "The special work of the counselor was no more effective than the usual forces in the community in preventing boys from committing delinquent acts." About 40 per cent of the children in each group developed official criminal records. If the Cambridge-Somerville program truly failed, its results cast serious doubts upon the effectiveness of other community services. . . .

In 1955, ten years since the termination of the project, a third group of evaluators took up the task of following the Cambridge-Somerville boys. The results of this evaluation made by William McCord and Joan McCord, with Irving Kenneth Zola, were published in 1959.

General Evaluation of Treatment

[The evaluators] found that the treatment program as it was carried out failed to achieve its goal of preventing crime. Not only had equal numbers of boys from the treatment and the control groups become criminals, but we also found that equal proportions had continued in their criminal behavior. Furthermore, there were no significant differences between the two groups either in the types or in the numbers of crimes committed. . . .

[The evaluators made the following] summary of [their] findings concerning the genesis of crime.

1. *Intelligence* was not strongly related to the causation of crime, although high intelligence may have allowed some offenders to escape the

penalties of their crimes. We did find, however, that those who committed crimes against property were, most often, of average intelligence.

2. Except in those cases of boys suffering from a distinct neurological disorder, *physical condition* did not significantly affect the incidence of crime.

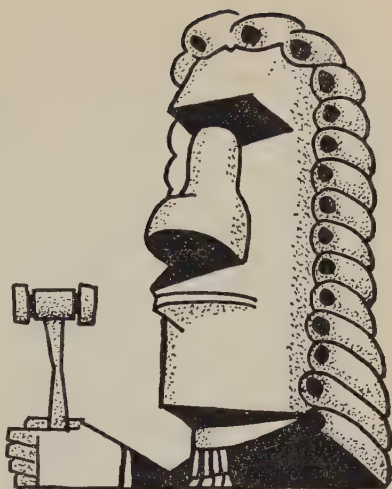
3. *Social factors*, in our sample, were not strongly related to criminality. The fact that a child's neighborhood did not, by itself, exert an independently important influence may surprise social scientists. Undeniably, a slum neighborhood can mold a child's personality—but apparently only if other factors in his background make him susceptible to the subculture that surrounds him. Cohesiveness in the family, consistent discipline, and affection from his parents seem to insulate a boy from the influence of a gang culture. On the other hand, we found that children who lived in "good neighborhoods," even though they came from neglecting families, tended to channel their frustrations in a noncriminal way. . . .

4. A child's *home atmosphere* had an important effect on whether he became criminal; indeed, the importance of the home cannot be stressed too greatly.

Cohesive homes produced few criminals. If a boy from such a home became criminal, he was most likely to commit traffic violations.

Quarrelsome but affectionate homes produced a higher proportion of criminals.

Broken homes precipitated many men into criminality, particularly into crimes of violence and drunkenness. Yet only a small proportion had



records for juvenile delinquency.

The influence of broken homes has been overstressed, for the extreme tension found in a quarrelsome and neglecting home is even more conducive to criminality. Such homes produce an extremely high number of all types of criminals.

A quarrelsome home, with or without affection, led to delinquency which began at a relatively early age.

5. The effect of *discipline* in the genesis of criminality is a complicated problem, for the influence of discipline was dependent upon other factors. . . .

Consistent discipline, whether of a punitive or love-oriented nature, tended to prevent criminality. . . .

6. The *father's personality* had an important bearing on criminality. We established that warm fathers and passive fathers produced very few criminals. Paternal absence, cruelty, or neglect, however, tended to produce criminality in a majority of boys. . . .

7. The *role model of the father*, we found, was also significantly related to criminality. Especially if the father rejected his son, the son tended to imitate the behavior of his father: if the father was criminal, the son tended to become criminal. Nevertheless, this relationship was dependent upon the attitude of the mother, upon her behavior, and upon discipline. . . .

8. Of all the influences which play a part in the genesis of criminality, the *mother's personality* appeared to be the most fundamental.

Maternal love, even though the love was complicated by an over-protective attitude, by anxiety, or by neurosis, *generally* led to low rates of crime. . . .

Maternal neglect resulted in a high proportion of sons who committed a wide variety of crimes. Such children were likely to begin criminality early in life and were the least likely to "reform" as they entered adulthood.

The loving-normal and the loving-anxious mothers, with few exceptions, had noncriminal sons. . . .

9. The son's *position in the family*, affected by family structure and attitude, in turn had an effect on crime. Specifically, those children who were viewed as "troublemakers" by their parents and those boys who fell in the middle range of the birth order were likely to become criminal.

Clearly, one cannot understand the origins of criminality by examining one factor alone; rather, one must understand the complex interaction of such determinants as the parents as individuals, the parents in relation to their child, and the family

as it combines with neighborhood influences. . . .

This research has demonstrated—at least, for the boys in our sample—the falsity of several popular theories concerning the origins of crime.

1. We did not find a strong, direct relationship between criminality and residence in a slum neighborhood.

2. We did not find a direct relationship between criminality and disciplinary methods except when a child is rejected by his parents or has deviant parental role models.

3. We did not find that punitive, harsh discipline (in whatever form administered) prevents criminality. Under certain conditions, consistently punitive discipline may deter criminality, but erratically punitive discipline promotes it.

4. We did not find that sons of passive males turn frequently to criminality to assert their "masculinity."

5. We did not find that broken homes constitute the type of atmosphere most conducive to criminality.

Our investigation of the origins of criminality reveals that the roots of crime lie deep in early familial experiences—so deep that only the most intensive measures, applied very early in life, can offer hope of eradicating them. . . .

We are forced to admit that the treatment administered by the Cambridge-Somerville program, probably the most extensive and costly experiment in the prevention of delinquency, largely failed to accomplish its goals. It failed primarily because it did not affect the basic psychological and familial causes of crime.

Healing a Community

TO COUNTERBALANCE the frustrating and dismal outcome of many studies on juvenile delinquency, there is a unique, valid study in community action in the Southeast Bronx, City of New York, that merits very careful observation. The project, known as the Community Action Program of the City of New York launched in October, 1959, is an attempt to bring together the resources of a neighborhood in the interest of families and children; to enlist and co-ordinate all neighborhood resources, both public and private; and to provide guidance, counsel, and referral services to meet the needs of the inhabitants.

The program is under the joint auspices of the Honorable Abe Stark, President of City Council, and Dr. Robert M. MacIver, Director of the Mayor's Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Program.

The goal of the project is to prevent and control delinquency through the early discovery of children and youth who are on the edge of trouble and who need immediate help. The over-all goal of the program is to rally the neighborhood as a whole to marshal its own resources for the care and protection of youth and their families.

The project is unique because it is rooted in the neighborhood, and does enlist the support of residents in the program of self-help to or-

ganize activities and social groups.

St. Mary's neighborhood, as the study area is known, consists of fifteen square blocks of drab and dilapidated tenements and small business establishments, stretching from East 130th Street to East 149th Street between Wallace Avenue and St. Ann's Avenue. The neighborhood has a highly congested, mobile population of 28,000 with mixed ethnic backgrounds. It is a deteriorating neighborhood, of low-income level and a high delinquency rate. There is considerable family and social disorganization. Many of the residents are recent immigrants who lack experience and resources with which to meet their rather overwhelming problems. The project serves as a friendly, helpful neighbor, acting as a two-way bridge between needs and the available community resources.

The project is staffed by a competent and unusually creative team of eight professional workers trained in community organization, psychiatric casework, and research. This team works with a constantly growing number of volunteers and leaders from within the area.

The emphasis of the community action program is divided into four areas: (1) identification by central register; (2) counseling; (3) block organization; (4) program activities.

The central register is an index of young people living in the self-study

area who have been detected at an early age as being vulnerable to delinquency and needing help.

Short-time counseling is provided as a timely aid for meeting immediate problems. If the needs of specific youths and families go beyond limited guidance, referral is made to relevant programs, services, and agencies set up to provide help in the designated ways.

Block organizational efforts are on two levels. First, block captains and block leaders are recruited and assigned responsibilities. Second, efforts are made to organize each block. A community meeting of block captains and leaders is held every two weeks. The purpose of these meetings is twofold: (1) to report on block developments, problems, etc.; (2) to bring outside resources as requested by block leaders. Blocks are organized through neighborhood committees that draw from all segments of the neighborhood populations.

Through the block organization that is already at work in fifteen blocks, the residents are developing a network of programs and services to assist the young people in the neighborhood to obtain opportunities for employment, for their education; counseling, guidance, and recreational outlets to prevent delinquency.

Some of the programs designed to spot and eliminate neighborhood "danger zone" have been: (1) after-care program designed to assist youth returning to the community from correctional institutions; (2) vocational clinics where young men attend regular sessions which focus on job orientation and guidance

leading to job placement, and then follow-up and counseling; (3) housing clinics, staffed by volunteers, meeting weekly to receive and take action on tenant and landlord complaints; (4) mothers' clubs organized for housewives who are homebound and have fewer opportunities to find friends and community outlets; (5) Reading for Enjoyment Clubs—local and vocational volunteers give reading improvement help for children who need remedial reading and provide for cultural enrichment for young people who have been habitually deprived and depressed; (6) supervised recreation for elementary school children on split sessions during the free time when they are out of school; (7) art classes instructed by professional art illustrators; (8) Adventure Club sponsoring monthly trips of educational interest—volunteers provide escorts, supervision, transportation, and refreshments; (9) Demonstration Reading Improvement Clinic—a demonstration project to raise the reading level of a selected group of elementary school children. Children meet after school once a week for twelve weeks.

Through the block captains in each of the blocks in the study area efforts are made to reach families who otherwise would be unrelated and isolated in enabling them to express their needs and to be integrated into the neighborhood. The people in St. Mary's neighborhood have learned that the captains are interested in them and their problems and are willing to help. The children are rapidly learning this also. Commenting on the need for effective community organization, Dr. MacIver

recently pointed out "that long before a boy gets into trouble, the school knows he is likely to, the neighborhood knows it, the churches know it. Even the parents sometimes know it, but nothing is done about it until he gets into trouble. People living in neighborhoods not only need to recognize some sense of belonging but also need to arouse awareness. CAP is creating this sense of belonging and this awareness in order to establish an effective 'early morning system' which will detect the delinquency behavior before it starts."

Several schools in the neighborhood have been in a unique position to identify incipient and overt problem children and can offer early diagnosis and help before adjustments become deep-seated. The schools of the area have met the challenge by experimental all-day neighborhood school programs beneficial not only to problem children but to all children enrolled. The all-day neighborhood schools consist of nine regular elementary schools and kindergartens through the sixth grade to which special all-day neighborhood school units are attached. These units are of an intrinsic type of the public-school program, and their achievements depend largely on the full co-operation of the principal and teachers. The core of the school unit is a team of different teachers who work with small groups of children from the regular classes, providing them with an enriched curriculum and directing an afterschool program of supervised recreation and art. The unit also includes special guidance to problem children. The school community co-ordinator will work with parents and citizens.

One feature of the neighborhood school unit is the afterschool club program offering planned and supervised recreation for selected groups of children from three to five P.M. The co-operating class program links the day school and the afterschool activities.

The use of high school and college students, as well as parents and neighborhood leaders and volunteer workers in clubs, is an important feature of the neighborhood schools. It is estimated that there are about 250 volunteers working with the club program during a given year.

The St. Mary's experiment is attempting to implement the findings and recommendations of the studies of Dr. Robert MacIver and his research team in the Juvenile Evaluation Project. The neighborhood project, which in itself would be a model for other programs, is under the direction of Dr. William S. Jackson, who has a doctorate in human relations from the New York University and a master's degree from the New York School of Social Work.

Dr. MacIver and his colleagues believe that an important step toward an effective prevention program is the Community Action Program that is tailored to deal with the complex of pressures and problems in their fuller setting—the neighborhoods.

The project's main office is located at 408 East 146th Street, with a branch office at the Alexander Burger Junior High School in St. Mary's Recreational Center. Extensive reports of various phases of the project and the problems of public education in that area will be available soon and will merit careful study.

REFERENCE

Major Needs

ONE of the major needs in the field of delinquency prevention, control, and treatment is for greatly increased citizen participation and leadership. The Citizen Action Program of NCCD * has already demonstrated, in eight states, not only that lay leaders are willing to devote their time and energy to the improvement of correctional services, but also that they can get results. This program has also shown, however, that an effective citizen action program must be painstakingly planned, professionally staffed, and sustained over a prolonged period of time.

To ensure that programs for the prevention and treatment of delinquency be as effective as possible, there is a need for far more practical research in the field of juvenile delinquency. At the present time, too much of what we do with youngsters in trouble is based on trial-and-error procedures. Schools of social work, departments of sociology and psychology, schools of medicine and their departments of psychiatry, should be enabled through substantial grants (from the Federal Government, if necessary) to devote large blocks of research time to this subject.

Since far more is already known about effective methods of control and treatment than is actually prac-

ticed, it is not necessary to begin the task of improving our practices. We know, for example, that specially selected and trained juvenile officers do a better job at handling and screening juvenile offenders than can be done by regular members of the police force. A superior job of diagnosis and disposition can be done by the juvenile court equipped with a good detention home, diagnostic resources (psychological, psychiatric, etc.), trained staff, and a specialist judge. We know that a youngster placed on probation is more likely to be successfully rehabilitated if he has the help of a professionally trained probation officer. Correctional institutions and after-care programs can be far more effective than they now are if they are brought up to standards already promulgated by such organizations as the National Association of Training Schools and Juvenile Agencies, the U.S. Children's Bureau, and others. One of the major needs, then, is to begin practicing what we already know about the control and treatment of juvenile delinquents and youthful offenders instead of hiding behind the pretense that these methods have already been proved to be ineffectual.

Among other things, the putting into practice of what we already

know would include the requirement that these services be made available to every child in trouble, regardless of whether he lives in a major city, a tiny hamlet, or the open country.

Another needed step toward the realization of adequate state-wide court and correctional service is the assumption, by judges, of a greater leadership role in gaining public understanding of the problem, reforms in delinquency legislation, strengthening of state institutions for delinquent youngsters, and so on.

Training schools are badly overcrowded, probation departments are understaffed in proportion to case loads, detention homes and jails are jammed with youngsters awaiting some kind of service, and diagnostic services are totally inadequate to cope with the demand. To overcome this situation, we must do more than build bigger institutions or keep adding untrained personnel to probation departments as lip service to the concept of treatment; we must find some method, or methods, of giving these youngsters more effective help and of doing it in a shorter time. Short-term, intensive treatment in the community and in the institution is the forward look. Many now working with children in trouble are convinced that most of these children could be treated effectively on a short-term basis, if we had the professional staff in sufficient numbers, with specialized training in the requisite techniques.

One of the most urgent tasks fac-

ing us in the next few years is to find methods of recruiting and training professional personnel to staff our juvenile or family courts and correctional services. Ways must be found to increase the professional content of on-the-job training and staff development for the majority of persons working in the correctional field without benefit of pre-employment professional training. This nation simply cannot afford to lose this fight, since the successful treatment of delinquency in the early stages is one of the most economical ways of combating crime, in terms both of the financial cost and of the cost in human resources.

To a marked degree, the meeting of all the needs listed above is dependent upon meeting the need for an effective program of public education regarding the nature and the treatment of delinquency. Public reaction to delinquency usually seems to take one of two forms, both of which are wrong. There is either a great hue and cry for punishment and retribution, coupled with demands to "get tough," "shave their heads and publish their pictures," etc., or a tendency to shrug it off on the grounds that "boys will be boys." Since both attitudes are unrealistic, and since both also avoid the need to spend money on sound treatment services and facilities, it is essential that the public gain more real understanding of the problem and its treatment if adequate services are to have the broad support necessary.

* National Council on Crime and Delinquency (formerly National Probation and Parole Association).

The Role of the Churches in Preventing and Treating Juvenile Offenders

In an address before the General Board of the National Council of Churches in February, 1960, Dr. Roy G. Ross, General Secretary, called upon the churches to treat juvenile delinquency as one of their major concerns. He declared:

"Many leaders from whom society has a right to expect intelligent action, including leaders in the church, seem to be paralyzed by: (a) the admitted complexity of the problem; (b) the conflicting viewpoints of professional and institutional leaders; (c) the lack of adequate statistics; and (d) in the case of the churches a tendency to leave the problem of delinquents to courts and social agencies and address their attention to so-called normal children and youth."

THE General Board supported Dr. Ross's contention that the churches stand "at the forefront of the institutions which have a responsibility," and it was determined that the demonstrations through the Council should define and declare their role, their policies, and their strategy, and go into united action.

As the initial step in studying the preventive and rehabilitative aspects of juvenile delinquency, a consultation of sixty selected national church leaders and invited resource persons from various disciplines met in New York City, in September, 1960. The purpose was to define the role of the churches and their agencies in approaching the problems of deviant behavior.

The Consultation affirmed four distinctive concepts which determine the role of the church:

1. Concept of reaching out—based on God reaching out to all men.

2. Concept of acceptance—God accepts people as they are.

3. Concept of conversion—God gives new power to become new creatures.

4. Concept of community—working to redeem the world.

The role of the churches was defined as follows:

1. To recognize that religion is an essential rehabilitative and redemptive resource and that the majority of offenders can be rehabilitated.

2. To affirm the inherent role of the congregation in the community as a parish of love and concern for the community and for all men in it.

3. To challenge children and youth with meaningful tasks and purposes in life to which they may dedicate their energies.

4. To develop understanding of the dynamics of human behavior and of the forces and factors in our society that contribute to delinquency,

and to work toward the elimination of adverse conditions which may be contributing to delinquency.

5. To motivate intelligent concern for persons caught in the web of delinquency.

6. To foster research and to support local, state, national legislation.

7. To foster, support, and make use of community resources.

8. To establish co-operative relationships with the courts and other public and voluntary agencies.

9. To involve youth in direct action to improve community conditions.

10. To make certain that needed community services are provided, especially in areas of high delinquency.

11. To understand needs, problems, attitudes of children and youth and to develop meaningful relationships with them and their families.

12. To make its essential unity visible and operable by joint planning, pooling of resources, and other specific actions to meet the needs of children and youth.

13. To develop and maintain flexible programs adapted to meet the changing needs of youth.

14. To foster and maintain a pastoral ministry in institutions and agencies serving children and youth.

15. To establish such direct service ministries under church sponsorship as are needed to serve the juvenile offender.

16. To study the effects of mass media on children and youth and other aspects of our culture which impinge on them.

17. To worship, preach, and teach in such ways that the proclamation of the gospel is relevant and in lan-

guage that can be understood and appropriated by young people.

18. To cultivate a climate of acceptance toward the juvenile offender in church and community.

19. To continuously evaluate its educational program.

20. To encourage personal participation of Christian people in person-to-person rehabilitative efforts.

21. To include in the normal groups of parish life, children and youth who may show tendencies toward delinquency, limiting the number in order that the purpose of the group may be maintained.

22. To reaffirm that:

a. We are all bound together in responsibility for the sins of our society that produce juvenile delinquency.

b. The judgment and grace of God in Christ are addressed to all men, including juvenile delinquents.

c. Because of this basic belief about God's relationship to men the church bears responsibility to offer to the juvenile offender as to all others Christ's invitation to full fellowship in his church in terms that are understandable to and appropriate by young people.

The Council is presently developing a major research project that will (1) assess the extent and nature of the present impact of the churches and (2) appraise the resources of the churches for fulfilling their role. Then a conference of three hundred people will be asked to formulate, for consideration by the General Board of the National Council, a statement of program objectives and strategy for the churches and their agencies.

Read What the Specialists Say

The Annals, "Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency," March, 1959. American Academy of Political and Social Science, 3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 4, Pa. 213 pages. Paper, \$2.00.

"Anomic Suicide," by Emile Durkheim, in *Social Perspectives on Behavior*, edited by Herman D. Stein and Richard A. Cloward. The Free Press, 1958. \$7.50.

The Churches and Juvenile Delinquency, by Robert and Muriel Webb. Association Press, 1957. 59 pages with bibliography. Paper, 50 cents.

The Community and the Delinquent: Co-operative Approaches to Preventing and Controlling Delinquency, by William C. Kvaraceus. World Book Company, 1954. 557 pages with index. \$5.00.

Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs, by Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin. The Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois, 1960. 211 pages with index. \$4.00.

Delinquency: Sickness or Sin? by Richard Vincent McCann. Harper & Brothers, 1957. 174 pages with index. \$3.00.

Delinquent Behavior: Culture and the Individual, by William C. Kvaraceus and Walter B. Miller. National Education Association, Washington, D.C., 1959. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang, by Albert K. Cohen. The Free Press, 1955. 202 pages. \$4.00.

Gang: A Study in Adolescent Behavior, by Herbert A. Bloch and Arthur Niederhoffer. Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958. 231 pages. \$6.00.

Institutions Serving Delinquent Children: Guides and Goals, prepared by U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Children's Bureau, in co-operation with the National Association of Training Schools and Juvenile Agencies, Publication No. 360—1957. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. 119 pages. 40 cents.

Juvenile Delinquency: Facts and Facets, a series of sixteen pamphlets, Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1960. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Some titles: No. 2 *Sociological Theories and Their Implications for Juvenile Delinquency*, 15 cents. No. 3 *Selected Annotated Readings on Group Services in the Treatment and Control of Juvenile Delinquency*, 15 cents. No. 11 *Delinquency and the Adolescent Crisis*, 15 cents. No. 14 *Community Programs and Projects for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency*, 5 cents.

The Nation's Children, in three volumes: *The Family and Social Change*, *Development and Education*, *Problems and Prospects*, edited by Eli Ginsberg. National Committee on Children and Youth, Suite 411, 1145-19th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. \$6.00 the set.

Origins of Crime: A New Evaluation of the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study, by William McCord and Jean McCord with Irving Kenneth Zola. Columbia University Press, 1959. \$6.00.

Report to the Congress on Juvenile Delinquency, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Institute of Mental Health. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. 35 cents.

The Social System, by Talcott Parsons. The Free Press, 1955. 162 pages. \$7.50.

Street Corner Society, by William F. Whyte. University of Chicago Press, 1955. \$5.00.

Understanding and Preventing Juvenile Delinquency: Practical Resources for Individuals, Church, Family, and Community, by Haskell M. Miller. Abingdon Press, 1958. 186 pages with index. Paper, \$1.25.

Youth in the Organized Society, by Paul Goodman, a series of essays reprinted in pamphlet form from *Commentary* in the issues of February, March, and April, 1960.

ORGANIZATIONS

Many national agencies are working on the problems of deviant behavior. The Office of Church and Society has compiled a list of organizations (much too long to include in these pages) which have varied resources to assist regional and local groups in studying their communities and in co-ordinating efforts to prevent and control delinquency. This list is available upon writing to the Office of Church and Society, 613 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.



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